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After One Year of War—What Have We Learned?

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A Radio Discussion by

- THURMAN ARNOLD
- WILLIAM BENTON
- FRED EASTMAN

458th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 246

DECEMBER 6, 1942

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

After One Year of War—What Have We Learned?

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE
BROADCAST COAST TO COAST BY
THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1942, AT 2:30 P.M., E.W.T.
(FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.)

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THURMAN ARNOLD, Assistant Attorney General of the United States

WILLIAM BENTON, Vice-President of the University of Chicago

FRED EASTMAN, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois

(*See pages 21–22 for further information*)

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

After One Year of War— What Have We Learned?

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This broadcast marks the first anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Officially, the United States has now been at war for one year. What have we learned from this first year of war? What have we learned about our productive and industrial potentialities, the solution of our manpower problem, the policies to be pursued on the home front? What have we learned from this war experience to guide us in the establishment of a peace-time economy?

Has the United States learned the values for which it is fighting? Is a military victory enough? Or must it be implemented by an ideological victory? Have we learned anything more about the principles upon which the establishment of a just peace must be based? What are the moral issues involved in this war?

The University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, *thus, on the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, opened its microphones to three observers to discuss the lessons that we have learned or should have learned after this first year of active military participation in a world at war.*

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MR. BENTON: Fifty-two weeks ago today, this program was interrupted by the first announcement that the Japanese were bombing Pearl Harbor. Today, the papers carry the story of the damage done, and thus we further learn how frightfully unprepared we were for war. Learning, as Aristotle once said, is accompanied by pain.

It is a big subject that we have today but an imaginative subject.

The ROUND TABLE could do a whole series of programs on this subject. I think that perhaps the first thing that we ought to decide is what we will leave out—what we won't discuss.

MR. EASTMAN: Let's agree to leave out the discussion of military strategy. I think we're not competent to discuss that.

MR. ARNOLD: I don't want to admit that we're not competent to discuss it but I will admit, however, that there's an open season on "armchair" strategists, and it wouldn't be wise to discuss it.

The thing that I don't want to discuss, because frankly it is something that I do not think we are competent to talk about, is a suggested peace plan. Nobody knows what the situation—the pressures and the complications—is going to be at the end of this war and I see no point in dragging it in here now.

MR. BENTON: There's plenty of discussion on it. It's the kind of field where it seems to me a little learning is a dangerous thing.

MR. EASTMAN: But wouldn't you agree that we can't wait for a military victory before we begin to think through the structure of a just and durable peace? We did that in the first World War. The results were a pretty bad peace.

MR. BENTON: I agree. Certainly one thing we've learned that has a bearing on that is a great deal about geography and a great deal about other countries. Our people as well as our leaders are learning about other countries. Our parochialism is being broken down. The Japanese will never again look like a push-over to anybody.

Even more important perhaps than our new knowledge of the Japanese technical skill, resourcefulness, and military power—certainly henceforward a knowledge that is going to have a profound effect on our foreign policy and on any peace—is our new knowledge of Russia. We've learned that Stalin knew what he was about better than we thought, that his army purges didn't ruin his army

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as we were told, that his people support him, and that Churchill was wrong when he said that the Russian failure in Finland showed how Bolshevism had rotted the Russian soul. The Russians haven't kidded themselves, and we now know they're a first-class world power, destined to play a major role in our own future.

So, to that extent, if isolationism means ignorance, which isn't the sense in which it's usually used politically, certainly we're learning a lot.

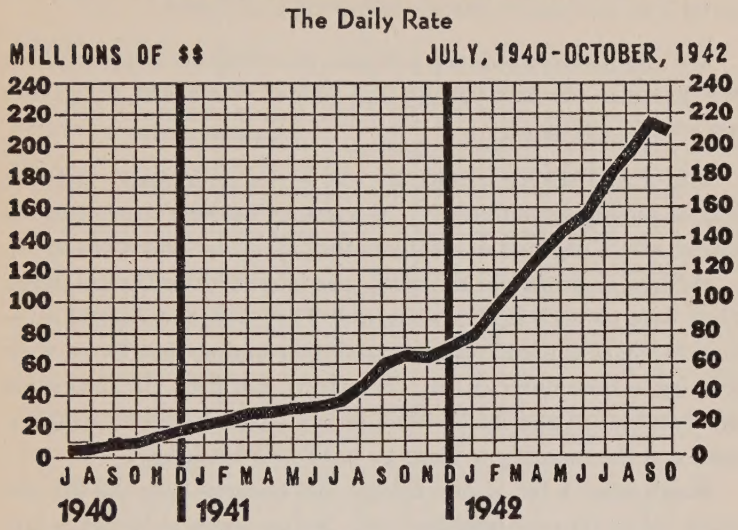
MR. EASTMAN: We're learning a lot about isolationism in other spheres, too. I think we've been learning the folly of isolationism politically and socially. We can't isolate ourselves from the great mass movements of under-privileged—the "have-nots"—people who have been surging upward against the "haves." We can't isolate ourselves here in America between our Los Angeles ocean on the west and our Boston ocean on the east. We can't isolate ourselves behind a Maginot Line of any kind.

We've been learning that our security is an inner thing not an outer thing and that it's collective not individualistic. I think, too, that we've been learning that we can't end the war as we did the last one. That is, we ended it politically and in a military fashion, but we left the educational war and the economic war still going on.

Is there any chance that we're going to do that in the business world?

MR. ARNOLD: When I suggested that we drop out peace plans, I meant specific plans. I didn't mean that we should drop out studying the fundamental conditions on which that peace should be made, because I think that in the last war we spent all our time explaining exactly what the war was for and maintained our fundamental illusions as to the basis on which a peace had to be made. So I say that I believe that you're right.

Business internationalism is one of the things that I hope the war has taught us. It took the war to wake us up to what this business internationalism was doing to our economy. It was dividing



* Reprinted from *Victory*, November 24, 1942.

up world markets, erecting private trade barriers, all to maintain high prices by taking a surplus off the market. It was restricting production because of that surplus.

MR. BENTON: That's what is meant by this ominous, fearful word, "cartels," isn't it?

MR. ARNOLD: That's right. An international cartel is a product of a process of high cost and low turnover. First, a little group gets control of a necessity in the country. It restricts production, keeps new enterprise out. When it finds itself in a completely dominating position at home, it becomes threatened by surpluses from abroad, and so it forms an international cartel to restrict international production.

MR. BENTON: Economists agree, too, that there has to be a domestic cartel before one can get an international one.

MR. ARNOLD: One can't do anything with an international cartel if he first hasn't destroyed free trade at home.

MR. BENTON: Suppose you give us a little bit of perspective, Mr. Eastman, on how you see this year of war before we go into our specific questions.

MR. EASTMAN: I think we will better understand this first year of the war if we think of it as a part of the long struggle of nature to select the kind of creatures that are fit to inherit the earth.

Millions of years ago the earth was inhabited by the trilobites. They were nature's first experiments. They were the original isolationists—hard-shelled creatures, with tiny brains, that found their security in their outer crust. They didn't last long. In time came the vertebrates; and finally man, with a better brain, an imagination, and the capacity to learn to work with his fellows.

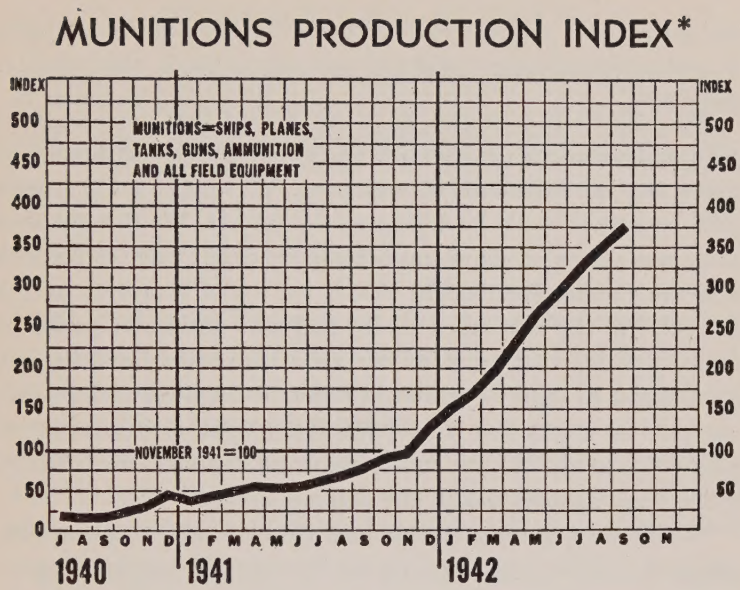
Man's done a lot of fine things. His sciences have shrunk the whole planet into one neighborhood. Nature seems to be telling him he had better make it into one brotherhood. He's been told that the "meek shall inherit the earth." By meek is meant, of course, the teachable, the humble, the cooperative. But man doesn't accept this. He wants to possess the earth by grabbing it. He's a stiff-necked and rebellious creature, and he has to learn everything the hard way. This first year of warfare is one engagement in that long struggle.

MR. BENTON: You agree with Aristotle, then, that learning is accompanied by pain.

MR. EASTMAN: Absolutely.

MR. BENTON: So much for clarifying our subject. Let's now turn to some specific questions.

ANNOUNCER: *After a year of war, what major economic lessons have we learned?* ROUND TABLE *listeners fear that a great depression will follow the war. They ask, "What have we learned this last year*



* Reprinted from *Victory*, November 3, 1942.

about our chances of achieving high production and employment in peace as well as in war?" They ask further, "If we gain economic freedom, must we lose political freedom?"

MR. BENTON: Most of our people have discovered the way production is going up. I saw some figures the other day, compiled by the Department of Commerce. They showed that in 1943 we anticipate a hundred-and-sixty-billion-dollar production in this country, which is at least 50 per cent higher than we've ever had before. Of course, eighty-five billion dollars of this—more than half—is being bought by the government. It becomes almost a one-customer production, something like a company town.

But people have discovered out of this tremendous production that we can produce. We've learned that we can manufacture the goods. Maybe that will turn out to be as important as anything

we've learned in the past year in its effect on the political attitudes of our people and our social and political future in this country.

MR. ARNOLD: It will be if we realize that production is wealth. During the period when we called ourselves an arsenal of democracy, we were afraid of production. We were afraid to expand steel because it would be a drug on the market. We thought that there was plenty of aluminum because we didn't want to produce more aluminum. We thought that it too would be a drug on the market. All this was based on the fact that during the period of monopolization that preceded our great depression, we'd become accustomed to think of wealth in terms of the dollar values that one puts on stocks and bonds. We didn't think of it in terms of production at all. We put money values on restraints of trade and called them national wealth and national income.

For instance, in the glass container industry, we put money values upon a corporation which earned its money by keeping the production of glass down. We put money values on stocks and bonds and aluminum and magnesium.

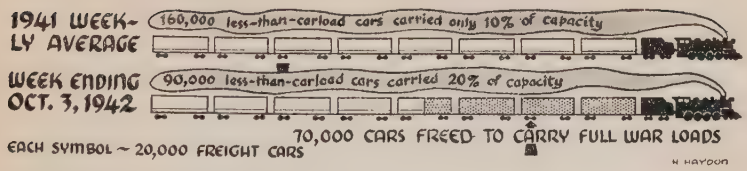
MR. EASTMAN: Just a minute; what other values are you thinking of besides money values?

MR. ARNOLD: I'm thinking that money values on restraints of trade are not wealth. They're the opposite of wealth, and we must learn that the real wealth of the country is production. When we've learned that, we can go ahead with full production without being afraid of its economic consequences.

MR. EASTMAN: Do you think that we can have that full production even in peace times?

MR. BENTON: The war is demonstrating that we have the full production. However, it isn't demonstrating that we can make butter with our production instead of guns. Of course, a corollary to full production during the war is that everybody can have a job.

FREIGHT CAR SERVICE*



* From the Office of War Information.

MR. ARNOLD: During the thirties, you remember, we thought that Germany and Japan were going bankrupt because their sole economic policy was full production and because they didn't care anything about bookkeeping values.

Now we see our error. Now we see that Germany and Japan were not going bankrupt. They were getting stronger. Out of the realization of that error can come the economic vision of the future.

MR. BENTON: The war for us so far has been a kind of a giant WPA project. The question involved here on what we've learned is whether we can get the production on a basis other than a giant WPA project.

MR. EASTMAN: Can we get it when the government is not the sole purchaser or the major purchaser?

MR. ARNOLD: I realize that a great many people are talking about a planned economy. They actually don't believe in the industrial democracy for which we're fighting. We've got to believe in it to get the will to produce. We don't have time for a revolution in this country, and we must fight for our own system and not simply against our enemies.

MR. EASTMAN: You say that we've got to believe in it. Is that just a matter of will power?

I'm thinking of students I know who have been fine students, who have gone out into the world and have been unable to get jobs.

They believed in our system. They didn't question it. But after they walked the streets for months and sometimes years, it was pretty hard to tell them that they had to have faith.

MR. ARNOLD: I would answer you that we didn't have a system of full production. It was that very lack of faith in full production which was creating the lack of jobs. In other words, industry was restricting production on every hand and destroying the exchange between its products and those of agriculture.

MR. BENTON: Of course, the fear today is coming right out of that from our war experience—the fear of business people of what is in store for them in this big centralized government and, in effect, what is a planned economy.

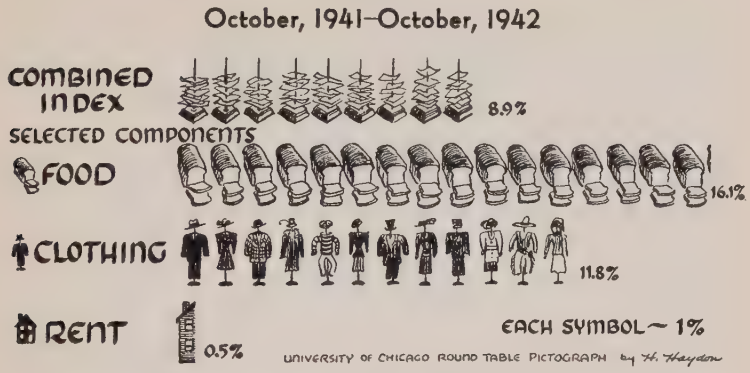
I think that our people are learning that there are tremendous inefficiencies in the big centralized government in Washington. I think some of them suspect that the glib talkers have the jobs instead of the fellows that know how to operate them.

Certainly many a businessman, when he finds out that a clerk, who perhaps was not feeling too well one morning, came in and signed an order that put him out of business, wonders what the future holds in store for him—whether we'll get away from that and whether we'll successfully revert to a free competitive economy, allowing initiative to the individual.

MR. EASTMAN: But government control is producing billions. Our big question is how can we distribute those billions when the government is not primarily the purchaser of them? That question has not been answered.

MR. BENTON: If we're to win this war, if we're to win the peace, we must answer that question—how we can produce the billions and distribute them without destroying economic freedom.

MR. ARNOLD: Of course, the answer for me is easy. I think that the idea that the government has got to step in and distribute the wealth of the nation is a symptom of frustration, of depression,



* The figures are the percentage increases of October, 1942, over October, 1941. From the Office of War Information.

and that if one keeps on believing that dismal prophecy, it may come true.

MR. BENTON: Don't you agree, though, that if we lose our economic freedom, we certainly shall, in time, lose our political freedoms?

MR. ARNOLD: I certainly believe that if one is dependent upon a great cartel for his living, that that cartel can dictate his political action and that it necessarily will.

MR. BENTON: And that the government ultimately will take over the cartel.

MR. EASTMAN: But if the government takes over the cartels and if we have a planned economy, at least we will have had one thing we missed before, and that is a job for every person.

MR. ARNOLD: Quite the contrary. I believe that we'll either have another war or seven million unemployed.

MR. BENTON: I agree with you.

MR. ARNOLD: Let's see what happens. In Germany they decided that the only way to handle industry was to rationalize it. When one rationalizes industry, the only thing he can think of to do is what we used to do to the railroads—stabilize their profits and their capital values. That means that we have to keep distress production and new enterprise out. In Germany, as you probably know, during the Weimar Republic, they got to a point where agricultural products, though scarce, were selling at ruinously low prices and couldn't be exchanged for plentiful industrial products that were knocking at the gates of the world.

I think we need to believe in the economics of opportunity—the belief that we get efficiency and distribution of goods by allowing every man to gamble and succeed. It's the old tradition that built up America to the most efficient country in the world. It's the tradition to which we must get back.

MR. BENTON: I agree with you there.

That brings up an interesting question on encouraging initiative and opportunity in this county—over which we can hope in the future that we shall have control—and the extent to which we're going to be dependent upon the rest of the world in the determination of our own domestic policies.

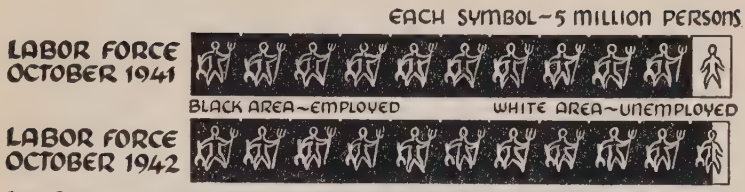
MR. EASTMAN: But I don't agree entirely. It seems to me that it's a question of which comes first—the free enterprise, if we have any such thing or have had it since 1880 or 1890, or this imperative that every able-bodied man who's able and willing to work ought to have a job.

MR. BENTON: We've got to provide the jobs, or free enterprise will die.

MR. EASTMAN: Right.

MR. BENTON: If we cannot provide the jobs under an enterprise system, enterprise will die.

EMPLOYMENT*



From Office of War Information *University of Chicago Round Table Pictograph~Hayden*

* The "labor force" excludes institutional population and the estimated number of persons in the armed forces. Thus the labor force, 1942, has actually increased more than a first reading of the chart indicates, when the larger number in the army is taken into consideration.

MR. ARNOLD: Let me put it differently. Free enterprise will provide the jobs.

I'll give an example of one enterprise which was not afraid of restricting excess production—that was the automobile industry.

MR. BENTON: That's true.

MR. ARNOLD: Even the unemployed had cars. The housing industry, on the other hand, was built up to protect static jobs, to give every man a job. In attempting to give every man a safe job, we stopped housing.

So I think that if we will produce to the fullest, out of that full production the jobs will come.

MR. BENTON: We're going to need at least ten million more jobs after this war than ever before to achieve optimum employment.

So much for the economic questions. Let's turn now to an equally, or more important, area.

ANNOUNCER: *After a year of war, have we better learned what we're fighting for?* ROUND TABLE *listeners are curious to know whether we have learned any better how to assume responsibility for world leadership when peace comes.*

MR. BENTON: Rosenberg, the Nazi, says, "We Nazis think with our blood." Vice-President Wallace has been speaking recently on the implications of the war for the common man, on the moral and philosophical questions involved in the war. What are these?

MR. EASTMAN: It seems to me that there are two great fronts in this war. There's the military front and the ideological front—or let's call it simply the "idea" front. The newspapers and the radio and the motion pictures have stressed the dramatic events on the military front and given less attention to the basic ideas which are struggling for the possession of men's minds on the ideological front. As a result, the man on the street seems to think that if we can just knock out the military might of Germany and Italy and Japan, the war will be over and that we won't need to worry about the ideological front.

But the matter's not so simple. The fact is that unless we win the struggle on the "idea" front a military victory may be quite useless. On the other hand, victory on the "idea" front will ultimately mean the basis for a just and durable peace that will be the ultimate victory for humanity. Defeat on the "idea" front will ultimately mean a defeat for the freedoms for which we fight, no matter what military victories our armed forces may win.

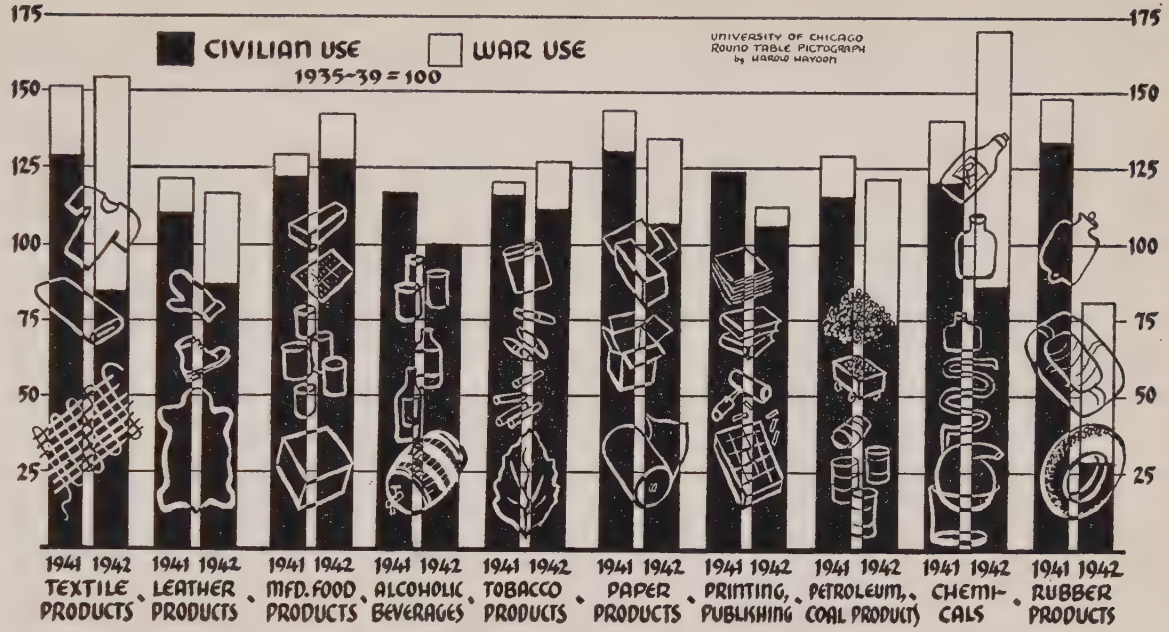
MR. BENTON: It seems to me that there's a great deal of confusion in this field, and sound ideas expressed in good words are being used as a cloak for some very impractical suggestions.

The confusion comes in the discussion about our responsibilities in this country to accept world leadership in line with the moral and philosophical ideas. I, personally, for one, don't think that our people are prepared to finance a world-wide WPA project, whether under the name of lend-lease, or by whatever name it goes, after this war, regardless of the language used to cloak it.

MR. ARNOLD: If that's right, then what we do owe to world leadership is to break down the trade barriers promulgated by pri-

PRODUCTION FOR CIVILIAN AND WAR USE*

Selected Industries



* From *Survey of Current Business*, November, 1942.

vate intrigue, which have been preventing the free exchange of goods. With this new age of light metals and chemicals and better fuel and cheaper transportation and our enormous productive plenty, I'd say we don't need WPA subsidies in order to get this exchange of the plenty that is coming from the factories of the world and the food of the world.

MR. BENTON: That's exactly the issue. The problem will be to help other countries help themselves. We need an economy that'll permit us to sell machine tools to other countries so they can help themselves and develop markets.

MR. ARNOLD: Let me cap that with an illustration—again from the automobile field. We never had to subsidize cars. We were always trying to keep the unemployed from having cars. We had to subsidize houses. Cars were unrestricted in production; houses were not. That will happen all over the world.

MR. BENTON: I think there's hope, however, that we may slowly learn the problems in this area.

MR. EASTMAN: It seems to me that it's primarily an educational problem and that we've got to recognize that the educational problem is the biggest one that we're facing. We've got two ideas—two sets of ideas—in conflict. Suppose we try to dramatize them very briefly here.

MR. BENTON: Before we go into that, I'd like to comment one minute on education, because I think we're learning a good deal at the University of Chicago about that, and our experience is being duplicated at other universities.

The government today is financing poor boys—paying their way to go to the universities. They're breaking down the barriers that have always existed against the poor boy's getting a real chance at education.

The new intelligence tests and the new selection tests, often called "screening" tests, which are used by the army classify and

sort out boys. Many of those who haven't even finished high school, in college are standing at the head of their classes in competition with university graduates.

Further, we're learning how in twenty months to give those boys perhaps more in general education and scientific education than we've previously done in from four to eight years—turning them out at eighteen or eighteen and a half with a better general education than ever before.

It takes a war to break down vested interests in education as well as in the economic field.

MR. ARNOLD: If we get them out of college better trained and sooner, they'll be able to produce more.

MR. BENTON: That's right, and that's one load off our economy right there.

MR. EASTMAN: Now may we take up this business of dramatizing the two sets of values—the educational ideas which are in conflict here, the real issues we're struggling for, or at least the major issues?

MR. BENTON: You mean the conflict of issues between the Nazi Fascist, on the one hand—

MR. EASTMAN: And the Christian democratic peoples, upon the other.

MR. BENTON: I think that they can stand some simplification and clarification.

MR. EASTMAN: Mr. Arnold, will you represent the Fascist ideas—the Fascist totalitarian ideas—and be the Devil's advocate?

MR. ARNOLD: I will. A lot of people, you know, have called me a Fascist. I've always denied it.

MR. BENTON: People who don't agree with one these days are quick to call one a Fascist.

MR. EASTMAN: Mr. Benton, will you be the one who holds the Christian democratic ideas? Now let me ask you certain questions concerning the central ideas—the major values of life—or the values concerning these certain great concepts. For example, man. To whom does he belong?

MR. ARNOLD: Speaking for the Fascist, I'd unhesitatingly say that man belongs to the state.

MR. BENTON: Speaking for the Christian democratic idea, I'd say that man belongs to his Creator.

MR. EASTMAN: How about the masses of the people?

MR. ARNOLD: As a good Fascist, I'd say "Follow the leader."

MR. BENTON: I'd say for the democracies, free men.

MR. EASTMAN: What are your relative conceptions of the highest value in life?

MR. ARNOLD: No greater value than power, according to the Fascist.

MR. BENTON: The Christian democratic idea says that the person comes first—individual persons are of the highest value.

MR. EASTMAN: To what is your supreme loyalty?

MR. ARNOLD: To the German people and against every other race.

MR. EASTMAN: Yes, so say the Nazis.

MR. BENTON: According to the Christian democratic idea, the supreme loyalty is to God and humanity.

MR. EASTMAN: What's the difference between your ideas on religion?

MR. ARNOLD: Religion, in my position as a Fascist, I say must be national.

MR. BENTON: I'd say universal.

MR. EASTMAN: How about government?

MR. ARNOLD: Government, speaking again as a Fascist, can exist efficiently only if it is by compulsion.

MR. BENTON: For the democracies, by consent.

MR. EASTMAN: Your conflicting ideas on industry?

MR. ARNOLD: As a Fascist, I say that there's only one way to run industry, and that is to have a group of centralized cartels, absolutely controlled by a central state.

MR. BENTON: For me, efficiency through competitive enterprise.

MR. EASTMAN: How about education?

MR. ARNOLD: Education is indoctrination for the Fascists—indoctrination for the state.

MR. BENTON: For the democracies, development of the individual.

MR. EASTMAN: What is the difference between your attitudes about the press and the radio?

MR. ARNOLD: As a Fascist, I'd say that the press and radio had only one purpose—government propaganda.

MR. BENTON: Free agencies for public discussion.

MR. EASTMAN: About international policy?

MR. ARNOLD: International policy, I would say as a Fascist, must be based upon fear and hatred.

MR. BENTON: The Christian democratic idea is faith and good will.

MR. EASTMAN: Finally, other nations?

MR. ARNOLD: The only purpose of other nations is to serve as something that we can conquer.

MR. BENTON: The Christian democratic basis is mutual aid. In conclusion—and to conclude for us today—Aristotle further says that wonder is the beginning of wisdom. We are today wondering what we are learning.

To date I think we all agree that perhaps never has so little been learned by so many from so much.

Harry Emerson Fosdick said, "There are worse things than war, and war brings all of them." But we've seen here today that the Greeks were right—that war is the father of change. There is in what we learn from this war real hope of great progress for the common man—his educational chance, his standard of living, a better world for him and his children.

Around the Round Table . . . .

THURMAN ARNOLD has been the Assistant Attorney General since March 21, 1938. Born at Laramie, Wyoming, in 1891, he took his A.B. at Princeton in 1911, his LL.B. at Harvard in 1914, and his M.A. at Yale in 1931. After marked success in private practice, he served as a member of the Wyoming House of Representatives and as mayor of Laramie; he then became a teacher of law. Yale appointed him Professor of Law in 1931, and his subsequent experience at New Haven and at Washington laid the groundwork for his notable books: *The Folklore of Capitalism* (1937); *The Bottlenecks of Business* (1940); *The Symbols of Government* (1935); *Cases on Trials, Judgments and Appeals* (1936).

WILLIAM BENTON has been vice-president of the University of Chicago since 1937. One of his special interests at the University has been the development of educational broadcasting, and he has been closely identified with the growth of the ROUND TABLE during the last five years. Mr. Benton was graduated from Yale University in 1921. The following year he entered the advertising business, and, in 1929, in association with Chester Bowles, he organized the Benton and Bowles Agency. He retired from the advertising business in 1935 and joined the University's administration two years later. A pioneer in the field of radio entertainment, Mr. Benton believes that the potentialities of radio for adult education have scarcely been tapped. He is vice-chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, which was organized recently under the aegis of the Department of Commerce for the purpose of laying plans for maximum employment and maximum industrial productivity after the war.

FRED EASTMAN is professor of biography, literature, and drama at the Chicago Theological Seminary (associated with the University of Chicago). He received his A.B. degree from Wooster College and has also studied at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Eastman is an ordained minister, and he has also done social service work as well as magazine editing. During the last few years, he has been interpreting through drama some of the important

conflicts in American life. His plays have been widely used by college, school, church, and little theatre groups. Among these plays are: *American Saint of Democracy* (1942); *The Tinker* (1929); *Eternal Life* (1941); *Bread* (1927); *Prexy and Son* (1942). He is also the author of numerous books, among which are: *Men of Power* (1938–40); *Books That Have Shaped the World* (1937); *Plays of American Life* (1934).

A CHRISTMAS GIFT, especially appropriate this year. The ROUND TABLE transcript offers weekly discussions of issues of current importance, as well as additional maps, pictograms, reading suggestions, and footnote information. Fill out the enclosed subscription card and mail it to University of Chicago ROUND TABLE.

MORE ON THIS TOPIC

ARNOLD, THURMAN, "Confidence Must Replace Fear," *Vital Speeches*, July 1, 1942. *States the need for a revival of faith in competitive capitalism.*

———, *Democracy and Free Enterprise.* Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. *Argues that a prerequisite of democracy is the destruction of monopoly.*

———, "This War Will Save Private Enterprise," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 30, 1942.

CHASE, STUART, "The War of Words," *Common Sense*, August, 1942. *Analyzes the meaning of such words as "competition," "socialism," and "collectivism."*

CHURCHILL, WINSTON, "Victory in Africa," *Vital Speeches*, November 15, 1942. *A report on military progress and a statement that Churchill did not become King's Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.*

DE SALES, RAOUL DE ROUSSY, *The Making of Tomorrow.* New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942. *An analysis of the nature of the war that concludes that it is both a war for survival and a social revolution.*

DE SANTILLANA, GEORGE, "Today Belongs to Hitler," *Atlantic*, August, 1942. *Argues that Americans fail to understand that Fascism has made changes in Europe.*

DRUCKER, PETER, *The Future of Industrial Man.* New York: John Day, 1942. *Argues that this war is being fought for the structure of industrial society.*

GALLUP, GEORGE, "Reporting Public Opinion in Five Nations," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, fall, 1942. *A summary of public attitudes in the past year.*

HOWE, QUINCY, "Twelve Things the War Will Do to America," *Harper's*, November, 1942.

KAISER, HENRY J., "The American Way," *Vital Speeches*, December 1, 1942. *States some of the industrial and economic lessons of the war.*

MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD, "The Image of Victory," *Atlantic*, July, 1942. *Argues that this war can win freedom of the air as previous wars have secured freedom of the seas.*

SHAFER, LUMAN J., "Our Faith and Our Decisions," *Christian Century*, December 2, 1942. *Argues that the central issues raised by the war are nationalism, the economics of self-interest, and the problem of freedom.*

SWING, RAYMOND GRAM, "Youth, War, and Freedom," *Nation*, June 22, 1940. *An analysis of the freedom America is fighting for as contrasted to the freedom the Germans believe in.*

WALLACE, HENRY A., "The Price of Free World Victory," *Vital Speeches*, June 1, 1942.

WELLES, SUMNER, "The Free World," *Vital Speeches*, December 1, 1942. *States the requirements for the practice of the four freedoms.*

WHITE, WILLIAM A., "Unity and American Leadership," *Yale Review*, autumn, 1942. *Raises the question whether Americans will learn to exercise the world leadership commensurate with their new world responsibilities.*

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

A discussion of these collateral questions will be found in the readings suggested on pages 23–24.

*

1. What have you learned about America as a result of one year of war? Have the events changed your mind in regard to the social or economic structure of America? What have you learned about the practices in business, labor, and government which operate to limit employment and productivity? Which increase production? What have you learned about the relation between full production and full employment? Discuss.
2. What have you learned about our economic dependency upon the rest of the world? Are we better prepared to solve the problems of world economics after the war? Do you favor the abolition of tariff barriers? Do you know whether a government controlled economy will provide economic well-being?
3. Have we learned how to conduct the war without losing our political freedom? Is the last election evidence of the exercise of political freedom? What have we learned about the limitations upon civil rights in wartime?
4. Have you learned that industrial mobilization for war means the loss of much economic freedom? Do you think political freedom depends upon economic freedom? Discuss.
5. E. H. Carr says that "the essential nature of the crisis through which we are living is neither military, nor political, nor economic, but moral. A new faith in a new moral principle is required to reanimate our political and economic system." Would the experience of the last year lead you to agree with him? In your opinion, what are the moral issues at stake in this war?

THE PEOPLE SAY—

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE audience on "The Challenge to Local Government," broadcast November 29, 1942.

*

Local government important—

"I believe that local government, with all of its mistakes, is one of the answers to why we have a democracy. In our form of government we recognize the smallest units, and this brings representative government close to the people. . . . ." A listener from Sheboygan, Wis.

*

Local government not isolated—

"I believe local government has declined somewhat in that I believe that it has failed to support and offer adequate guidance to the more centralized government—state and federal. . . . . A national issue is of concern locally, first of all, from the standpoint—how does it effect our local comfort and activities of the moment? I believe an improvement would come about in local government if a realization was established that one function of local government is to *encourage* the national government upon what are considered necessary and well considered courses of action. The test of any proposed course of action should not be its effect upon the immediate 'local,' but should be its effect upon the nation at large or even the world of nations. . . . ." A listener from Topeka, Kansas.

*

Need national standards, local administration—

". . . . regarding local and national government, I feel that it is not a question of *either-or* but rather *both-and*. Local government is an important part of the whole democratic system. Rather than declining in importance, there is need for clearer vision (of the part-whole relationship), with a willingness to meet changing conditions by relinquishing certain functions (those that have a destructive effect on the broader community) and by taking on new functions. We need a strong central government with wide decentralization of activities.

"Because local governments tend to lag far behind the national government in matters pertaining to social reform, I feel that we need to have minimum standards set by the national government and adopted by all the states relative to education, health, housing, etc., ..." A listener from Niagara Falls, N.Y.

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LISTS

of 1938-40 Transcripts Still in Print Will Be Sent upon Request. Students and Teachers Will Find These Issues To Be Valuable Commentaries upon Events of the Period.

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1941

150. *Can Capitalism Defend America?*
156. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
158. *Defense Economics*
161. *War Aims and Peace Aims*
163. *Lessons from Europe's War*
164. *The Effect of the Blitzkrieg on the Economic Order*
169. *War against the Middle Classes?*
173. *Our Liberties*
174. *Blueprint for Hemisphere Defense*
177. *Defense: Who'll Pay the Piper?*
178. *Japan: Setting Sun?*
185. *New Frontiers in Education*
186. *Anti-Semitism*
188. *Economics of Blitzkrieg*
189. *Showdown with Japan?*
190. *Science and War*
191. *Defense Inventory*
192. *The Philippines*
193. *Little Business: What Now?*
194. *Labor's Responsibility in Defense*
195. *Canada: Neighbor at War*
197. *Manpower: The Key to Victory*
198. *What Does Rationing Mean?*

1942

199. *Morale: Ours and Theirs*
200. *How To Meet the Menace of Inflation*
201. *Censorship*
202. *How United Are the Americas?*
203. *Are We Overconfident?*
204. *Labor Policies in Wartime*
206. *What Should We Teach Our Youth Now?*
207. *Propaganda: Good and Bad*
208. *Civilian Defense*

No.

209. *Taxes* vs. *Axis*
210. *Women, Work, and the War*
211. *The American Temper*
212. *India*
214. *War Profits*
215. *War and the Family*
216. *Politics in Wartime*
217. *Aliens in Our Midst*
218. *Radio in Wartime*
219. *Children and the War*
220. *Limiting Wartime Incomes*
221. *Education for Freedom*
222. *The United Nations*
223. *China*
224. *The Near East*
225. *Congress Investigates*
226. *Crisis in Shipping*
227. *Must We Hate Our Enemies?*
228. *War Comes to the Farm*
229. *Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now?*
230. *Political Reconstruction of the Post-war World*
231. *Economic Requisites of a Durable Peace*
232. *Challenge of the Four Freedoms*
233. *Health in Wartime*
234. *Wage Policy in Wartime*
235. *The Rubber Crisis*
236. *Farm Parity*
237. *Congress and the War*
238. *Your Taxes*
239. *The Rediscovery of America*
240. *The Press*
241. *Manpower*
242. *The New Congress*
243. *France*
244. *Crisis Administration*
245. *The Challenge to Local Government.* November 29

All Round Table Transcripts Contain Added Factual Material in the Form of Graphs, Maps, Pictographs, Footnotes, Bibliographies, Etc.

ROUND TABLE NETWORK OF 104 STATIONS

2:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Manchester, N.H.	WFEA	1370
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Baltimore, Md.	WBAL	1090	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1260	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1410	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Wilmington, Dela.	WDEL	1150
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1240

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1490	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1380	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	810
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Fort Worth, Texas	KGKO	570	San Antonio, Texas	WOAI	1200
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1340	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1240
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920			

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240
Helena, Mont	KPFA	1240			

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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Milwaukee, Wis. WTMJ 620 4:00 P.M. C.W.T.

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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DECEMBER 13, 1942

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G. A. BORGESE, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH, Department of Modern European History, University of Minnesota

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, Department of History, University of Chicago

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SUGGESTED READINGS

DE SANTILLANA, GEORGE, "Today Belongs to Hitler," *Atlantic,* August, 1942.

LINGELBACH, A. L., "Italy Turning Against Fascism," *Current History,* July, 1942.

SALVEMINI, GAETANO, "Our Allies Inside Italy," *Common Sense,* December, 1942.

SFORZA, COUNT CARLO, "Realities and Illusions About Italy," *Free World,* July, 1942.

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